

Life and Reign  
O F  
RICHARD II.

CONTAINING

A Full Account of the Sudden  
Rise and Fall of his Three Chief  
Favourites,

The TREASURER,

The CHANCELLOR,

A N D

ROBERT Earl of OXFORD, &c.

O F T H E

Several Invasions made on the Laws of  
this Kingdon, and the Rights of the  
Subject, and of the Grand Revolution  
which followed.

B Y

Deposing of RICHARD II.

A N D

Advancing of HENRY IV.

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*With Seasonable and Useful Reflections.*

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T H E

Life and Reign

O F

RICHARD II.

**O**F all the Arts and Sciences that Humane Wit has found out to improve and polish the Mind, there is none of greater Use to Life than *History*, whence Posterity may draw such Rules of their Conduct, by the Example of their Ancestors, as may direct them to avoid such Errors they might otherwise have fal'n into.

The old *Egyptians* were so sensible of this that they preserv'd the Records of their Country from its very first Foundation; of which the *Greeks*, till almost the Time of *Herodotus*, were so negligent, that they had little to be depended upon. This gave an *Egyptian* the Ground of re-  
B
proaching

proaching them in this manner, — You Greeks are always Boys, for you know nothing that pass'd among your Forefathers. But our present Britons are much more liable to Censure on this Account, since tho' they have Histories of their Country, which go up very high in their Story, and written in their own Mother Tongue, they know so little of them, as to act and talk as if they were but of yesterday.

Tho' History be useful to Men of all Stations, yet it is most so to Princes, and Men of the most exalted Degree in the Government. If Princes and their Favourites would be more conversant with the History of their own Country they would not be apt to incur such dangerous Errors, as have too frequently involv'd them in Ruin or Disgrace. For there are no Prescriptions so efficacious against those Maladies, as the Precedents of History : To see what Glory and Safety wise and virtuous Princes have obtain'd, and what Ruin the Cruelty and Folly of others have brought on themselves and their Subjects. In every Country their own Precedents are most proper for themselves, since living under the same Constitution they may justly expect the same Effects from those happy or unfortunate Causes.

The reading the same Histories would likewise be extreamly useful for all such who assume to themselves a Liberty of speaking to the People on Political Subjects,



jects, since by following the History of their Nation, they would be better instructed in our Constitution, than to fall into those Errors themselves, or lead others into them, to which we owe so many Disturbances. For if most of our noisy *Demagogues* had pursued this Track, we had not now been divided into Parties, as we are, but all would have known what is due to the Crown, and what to the People : Nor had we ever had so many bold and trayterous Libels, and *Invectives* against the late happy Revolution, in which the Hand of God was so visibly seen ; nor the Ignorant People been betray'd by the Sophistical Harangues of their Teachers to repent of their Glory as a Crime ; since it would have been as evident as Matter of Fact cou'd make it, that *James II.* was not the first Prince of this Nation, who has forfeited his Sovereignty for Male Administration ; and that it was no new thing for the Parliament of *England* to call their Princes to an Account for endeavouring to subvert our *Legal* Constitution into an *Arbitrary* Dominion.

The Life and Reign of *Richard* the Second, is one of the most evident Proofs of this Truth, that our History affords us, and for that Reason the most worthy the Perusal of every good *Briton*, at a Time when the Memory of our Deliverer is traduc'd for saving us

from Popery and Slavery, which, without the least Disguise, made a Publick Assault on our Laws, and on our Religion; when Papers are suffer'd in Defence of the Right of the *Popish Pretender*, by asserting (for Gentlemen of that Kidney never prove any thing) that no Prince can forfeit his Right on any Account whatsoever; shewing in this Assertion no more Regard to the Laws now in Force, than Respect to Her Majesty, who could never have mounted the Throne of Her Ancestors, but by that Revolution, that justly removed her mistaken Father, and which these Scriblers condemn as rebellious.

There is one thing I cannot chuse but remark in the following History, and that is, that the very Priests, even in the dark times of *Popery*, were better Patriots than our Clergy, it seems, desire to be thought in the greater Light of the *Reformation*. For they always join'd the Nobility and Commons in the Vindication of our Laws and Liberties, whereas these have made it an Article of Faith, that we are not to defend either them or our Religion at all, tho' *Magna Charta*, and the ancient Usage of this Realm, which constitutes our Common Law are directly against them, and not one single Text of Scripture to justify their Dissent from these Laws.

It must indeed be confess'd for the Honour of the Clergy of the Church of Eng-  
land



*gland*, that they laid aside at the Revolution so unsafe and unseasonable a Doctrine to which we owe that we still can call ourselves *Britons* and *Protestants*. But they have for this not only suffered the most virulent Reproaches from the Enemies of both our Religion and Laws, but also recanted or disclaim'd that good Action they were *once* surprized into by their Fear.

The following History will be an unanswerable Defence of such as were heartily engag'd in that Glorious Action; since the Measures taken against *Richard II.* as well as King *James* are justified not only by *Magna Charta* it self, *Edward the Confessor's Laws*, (which were confirmed by that Charter) and the great Lawyers *Bracton* and *Fortescue*, but also by an Act of Parliament in the Reign of *Henry VII.* ratifying all that was done by the Nobility and People for the House of *Lancaster* against that of *York*, which remains unrepeal'd to this Day.

We may also learn from the following History, the Misery of a Nation under the Government of a Child, and a weak Prince, who is easily wheedled, by the Flatteries of evil Men, from their own certain Interest, which only is that of the Public, to gratify the Ambition, Avarice, or Revenge of his *Favourites*; and how difficult it is for Ministers of Virtue and Wisdom to maintain themselves in the Affections of a Monarch, whose weak

Under-

Understanding is far more susceptible of the pernicious Counsels, that side with his vitiated Inclinations, than of such as wou'd establish his Throne and his Glory by the rigid Directions of Virtue and Wisdom.

The Reign of *Richard II.* was the Reign of *Favourites*, who debauch'd all his Virtues, and dispos'd him to Loosenesses and Carelessness; deafen'd and confounded him with Flatteries; prompted him to observe no Law but his own *Will*, while they were the Disposers of all Things. At which many great Men retir'd discontented, and left the Favourite Ministers at large to pursue their Ambition, and with new Inventions to waste and pillage the King's Revenue.

After the Death of that great Prince *Edward III.* his Grandson the unfortunate *Richard II.* succeeded to the Throne, his Father the Black Prince dying in King *Edward's* Time. His Person was comely and beautiful, but that promising Person that might have become great Actions, was turn'd to Looseness and Pleasures; while Flatterers broke in to encourage that dissolute Carelessness, which they found wou'd be suitable to his Nature, and their own Ambitious Designs.

He was born at *Bordeaux* in *Gascoigne*, the Residence of his Father the Black Prince, during his Government of those Parts, and from thence was call'd *Richard*  
of



of *Bourdeaux*. This unfortunate Prince came to the Crown at Eleven Years of Age, on the 22d of *June* 1377. and soon made good the WOE pronounc'd on the Nation, that had a Child for their King. He was Crown'd on the 16th Day of the following *July*, when preceded by a Procession of Bishops and Monks, he came before the high Altar, and having pray'd, was conducted to his Seat, where he heard a Sermon preach'd by a Bishop on the Duty of a King to his People, and the Conditions of their Obedience to him, early to let him know what Measures he ought to take to make his Reign prosperous and happy. But he was either too Young to receive the Impressions of such wholesome Admonitions, or too easily made to forget them by the pernicious Flatteries of those he had about him. The Sermon being ended, the King pronounc'd his Oath before the Archbishop and the rest of the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal; which being done, the Archbishop, following the Lord *Henry Percy*, Lord *Marshal*, turn'd himself to every side of the Church, declaring to the People his Majesty's Oath, and demanding of them whether they wou'd submit themselves to a Prince and Governor who had taken such an Oath, and obey his Commandments? The People replying with a loud Voice, that they accepted of him for their King, and wou'd obey him.

King

King *Richard* being thus crown'd, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Duke of *Cambridge*, with other Peers of the Realm, were fixt in the Administration of Affairs during his Minority. He came to the Crown in the midst of Animosities at Home, and Wars Abroad; the Oppressions of the Nobility had rais'd such disgust in the People, that had like to have cost the Duke of *Lancaster* his Life, only for speaking hard Words to the Bishop of *London*; so Zealous for the Clergy were the People in those Times, that a Prince of the Blood was not safe in a Contention with a Bishop. This was the Reason that the Bishop of *Rocheſter* preach'd a Sermon to exhort both Sides to put an end to those Discords and Animosities, which had so long kept up Enmity between them; that as it was offensive to God, so it was dangerous to themselves, whilst they had their old Adversary the treacherous *French* so near them, and so ready to take all the Advantage they cou'd by their Divisions. He further exhorted the great Men to have more Humanity in their Conduct to the People, and the People to assist their Prince in all his lawful Undertakings. The Bishop concluded with an Exhortation to those that were about the King to forsake their evil Ways, and not by their Example to betray the young Prince to bad Courses: That if they drew him to  
Virtue



Virtue and Goodness, it wou'd be a Benefit to the Commonwealth; but if they suffer'd him to deviate from the right way, by indulging his weak Inclinations, or early corrupting his Understanding by Flatteries, it wou'd, in all probability, bring Ruin on the People and Kingdom.

About this Time the *French*, encourag'd by the Death of that Warlike Prince *Edward III.* and the Nonage of *Richard*, burnt *Rie*, landed on the Isle of *Wight*, and rais'd a Thousand Marks of Silver Contribution, after they were repuls'd by Sir *Hugh Tyrrel* in their Assaults on the Castle. And coasting from thence, they took their opportunity of landing in several Towns, and burning *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*, and other Places.

The *Scots* on the other side were not idle, but surpriz'd the Castle of *Berwick*; but the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, and other Lords, soon retook it by force, and penetrated with their Army into *Scotland*.

Thus stood Affairs on all sides on *Richard's* Accession to the Throne, War Abroad and Faction at Home, and himself a Child incapable of judging or acting for himself, or of the Benefit of having such wholesom Instructions as might make his riper Years more lucky.

At *Michaelmas* the Parliament summon'd to meet at *Westminster* met there;  
C and

and sate till St. *Andrews* Day ; they made an Act for the Banishment of *Alice Pierce*, and the forfeiture of all her Goods, moveable and immoveable, for returning to Court, contrary to her Oath to the last Parliament, and still imposing on the Dotage of the old King *Edward* III. by obtaining exorbitant Grants.

This Parliament was remarkable for appropriating the Money they granted the King, and ordering it to be put into the Hands of *William Walworth* and *John Philpot*, Citizens of *London*, that they might see it employ'd for the King's Service, and the safety of the Kingdom.

Tho' our Arms were successful enough in *France*, yet the Ruin of our Affairs at Home made such irresistible Progress, by the ill Management of the young Prince, that the Duke of *Lancaster* foreseeing, that this Conduct must necessarily produce a Change in the Ministry, and fearing the presence Miscarriages should be laid at his Door, by the King's Permission retir'd from Court to his Castle of *Killingworth*. The Earl of *Northumberland* resign'd his Office of Lord Marshal, which was given to Sir *John Arundel*, Brother to the Earl of that Name.

The Duke of *Lancaster* left not off the Care of the Nation, but having receiv'd of the Citizens the aforesaid Money, that was granted by the last Parliament, he undertook to defend the Realm for a Year



Year against all Invaders, which by setting out a Fleet he effectually perform'd, making Prize of many rich Ships of both the *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*.

I cannot here omit the noble Performances of the afore-mention'd *John Philpot* who finding the great Officers at Court had something else to mind, than the Traffick and safety of the Nation, fitted out himself a Fleet at his own Charge, very well furnish'd with Men and Ammunition. As soon as he got to Sea, he met with one *Mercer*, a *Scot*, with his Fleet, and all the *English* Ships he had taken at *Scarborough*, and 15 *Spanish* Vessels, engag'd, routed and took them all, and thus made the Seas something more passable.

It is very surprizing that there shou'd be Persons at the Helm at that time, who cou'd blame this Service of *Philpot*; yet those very Lords, whose Duty it was to have taken care of the Maritime Affairs, were not content to have neglected their Duty, but must accuse *Philpot* of Presumption, for fitting out Men of War, without the Advice of the King's Council: But he made such a Defence before that Board, that the Earl of *Stafford*, and other Noblemen, who had laid this as a Crime to his Charge, join'd with the Council to dismiss him without any further Trouble.

The third Year of this King was likewise usher'd in with a Parliament; by

which a new Protector was appointed for the King's Person, and the Administration of all Publick Affairs, since they found, that those, who had enjoy'd that high Post till that time, had nothing in their Eye but amassing of Wealth for themselves, without doing any thing for the King's Honour, or the Good of the Commonwealth, but empty'd the Treasury with Luxury and Profuseness, destructive of both. *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, was the Man pitch'd upon by the Parliament for so important a Trust.

The Insolence of the *French* was the cause of the raising an Army, and sending it into *France*, under the Command of the Earl of *Buckingham*, who march'd from *Calais* through part of the *Low Countries*, and all *France*, in the sight of an Enemy's Army superior to the *English*, without being able to bring them to a Battel; for the *French* King had found by Experience in the Time of *Edward* the Third, by the many Losses he had suffer'd by fighting our Armies, that the *English* had better be encounter'd by Famine than Sword, or at least not with the Sword, till Famine had made them weak enough not to be an over Match for a superior Number of *French*. But they happily forc'd their way through *France*, and got safe into *Bretaigne* to the Assistance of that Duke, who soon ingratfully



gratefully made a Clandestine Peace with the *French*, and so our General and his Forces return'd to *England*.

The Parliament impos'd on the People for the King's Use, and the Charges of sending this Army into *France*, an extraordinary Poll Tax of 4 *d.* a Head of all above Sixteen (known Beggars only excepted) every Priest and Nun paying Six Shillings. A Tax so unusual and Burthenfome, was the cause of great Murmurs among the People, and the Villany of collecting it of very great Mischief and Troubles, which broke out on the Abuse put on *Wat Tiler's* Daughter, on her Mother's refusing to pay the Poll for her, as under the Age the Act of Parliament had fix'd. The Father coming in on the Insult the Collector offer'd, knock'd out his Brains and the Common People incens'd with the Officer's Rudeness, rose in a Body, and in that manner march'd to *Maidstone*, and gather'd, as they went, to such Numbers, that *Wat* had under him when he came to *Black Heath* not less than 30000 Men.

This rising in *Kent* was follow'd by the like in *Essex*, which two Parties being join'd, the Commons likewise rebell'd in *Sussex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and other Neighbouring Counties. This Rabble let their first Rage loose on all Lawyers, and Justices of the Peace, as Enemies to the Repose of the People ;  
from

from this they proceeded to burn and destroy all Writings and Records, which came in their way.

By this time the Camp on *Black Heath* was encreas'd to 100000 Men, and had chose several Leaders, as *John Straw*, *William Wraw*, *Watt Tiler*, *John Shepheard*, *Tom Milner*, and *Hob Carter*. The King having sent to know the cause of their assembling together in such a manner, they sent him for Answer, that it was to talk with him on important Affairs, therefore he must come to them to that end. The King declining this Demand by the Advice of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Treasurer *St. John*, the Rabble came to Town, burnt the *Savoy*, the Palace of the Duke of *Lancaster*, whom they hated. A Party encamp'd at *Mile-end*, and another on *Tower Hill*, stopping all Provisions from being carry'd into the King, who in great Terror resided there at that time, and being admitted by him, they search'd out the Bishop of *Canterbury* and cut off his Head, which was follow'd by the Murder of several others.

When their Fury was somewhat abated, the King, by Advice of those who were about him, offer'd them Pardon, on Condition that every Man return'd Home to his own Dwelling, and there expect the King's Confirmation of their Pardon. The *Essex* Men, appeas'd with the King's Promises,



mises, immediately retir'd home, leaving some of their Country-men to stay to bring the King's Charters of Freedom and Pardon. The *Kentish* Men continu'd their Disorders, till Sir *John Newton* was sent to *Watt Tiler* to desire a Conference with him; who being at his Leisure, arriv'd at *Smithfield*, after the most insolent Behaviour of a Rebel, he was struck down by Sir *William Walworth*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and then kill'd by *John Standish*, Esq; and several other Gentlemen present, and the *Londoners* coming to the King's Assistance, the Rabble threw down their Arms, dispers'd, and deliver'd up their Ringleaders; and *John Straw*, the Chief of them, confess'd at his Execution, that their Intention was to destroy all that were above them in Quality or Condition.

These Troubles being ended, which, if not begun, were very much fomented by one *John Ball*, a Priest, who was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd for it at *St. Albans*; and the several Counties having again renew'd their Oaths to the King, the Lords themselves soon discover'd their Animofities against one another, as if Peace at Home could not find a Place in this Nation, whilst a weak Prince held the Scepter.

Those Disputes which followed, took their Rise from these, and a Mistake of an Order sent by the King to the Governor

nor of *Berwick* not to admit any one whatsoever into that Fortrefs : For the Duke of *Lancaster* concealing the Tumults in *England*, made a Truce for two Years with the *Scots*, in whose Country he was at that time. This Treaty being confirm'd, the Duke marches to *Berwick*, but Sir *Matthew Redman*, Governor of that Place, deny'd him Admittance, in Obedience to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the *Marches*, which was founded on a general Command of the King for his taking Care of all the Castles under his Government, and to admit no Person into them, forgetting to except the Duke of *Lancaster*. This gave the Duke such a Disgust to the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he accus'd him of Treachery and Baseness at a great Council at *Berkhamstead*, when such Words grew between them in the King's Presence, that the Earl was arrested, but restor'd to his Liberty on Surety for his Appearance at the next Parliament; to which they both came with a numerous Train, and all of them Arm'd; the Earl and his Company were lodg'd in the City, that favour'd him, only because opposite to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who lay with his People in the Suburbs, and every Day each went to the Parliament House at *Westminster*, attended by a numerous Train of Armed Men.

This



This put the whole Parliament into an Alarm, and entirely put a stop to the Reformation of Abuses, to which end this Parliament was summoned together. This made the King at last interpose in the Affair, and with some difficulty, brought them to a Reconciliation; upon which the Houses went on to Business, but were again interrupted by the Arrival of the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperor *Wraslaus* betroth'd to King *Richard*, for they were prorogued till after *Christmas*, that the King might have leisure for the Celebration of his Marriage. After *Christmas* the Parliament ended with some Laws against Riots and unlawful Assemblies; which did not deter some of the Commons of *Norfolk* from designing a new Rebellion, of the same Nature of the Poor against the Rich, but this was prevented by the discovery of one of the Accomplices before it was put in Execution, and many of them were hang'd.

Indeed thro all this Reign, the People were unquiet and tumultuous like the Evil Humours in a sickly Constitution set on float by every Accident, a sure sign of a weak Administration.

About the seventh Year of this King's Reign, there was form'd a Croisade for the Pope against an Anti-Pope, and the Army that went out of *England* on this Account was commanded by the Bishop of *Norwich*, in which were many Priests and

D

Religious

Religious Men, that behav'd themselves with so much Valour, that in a Battel between them and the *Flemmings*, my Author says, some of the Priests kill'd sixteen Men apiece. But our constant Enemy the *French* came down into *Flanders*, and with an Army vastly superiour to the *English*, put a stop to the Progress of our Arms every where, till then Victorious, under the Conduct of the Warlike Bishop of *Norwich*, who being now driven to *Gravelin*, sent the King Word, that if ever he would try a Battel with the *French*, now was the time.

This Messäge came to the King at *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*, in the Progress he was then making about the Kingdom with his Queen, when he was at Supper; but as soon as he had read the Express he rose from the Table in haste, and took Horse immediately with such Eagerness, that he was frequently oblig'd to change his Horses so that at Midnight he got to *St. Albans*, but staying no longer than to borrow the Abbot's Gelding, he posted forward to *Westminster*, so that he seem'd resolv'd to take no manner of Rest till he had fought the *French*. But being come to *Westminster*, tir'd, with this Fatigue, he went to Bed to refresh himself; where he found so much Satisfaction in Ease, and so little in Labour, that he thought no more of his Voyage to *Calais*, but sent a Lieutenant to deliver the Bishop from Danger.



Danger. This Passage gives us a Specimen of the Natural Inconstancy of his Temper, and how suddenly he would resolve on the most important Undertakings, and how soon lay aside what he had so hastily resolved. But though he was so fickle in things of this kind, yet in things where Change would have been perhaps more for his Advantage, he was too obstinate. For his Favourites held him generally in so strict a Constancy in his Love to them, that he more than once hazarded his Crown, and at last was depos'd for their sakes.

His chief Favourites at this time were *Michael de la Pool*, afterwards Earl of *Sussex*, and now Chancellor of *England*, *Robert de la Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, afterwards Marquis of *Dublin* and Duke of *Ireland*, and *Tresilian* the Chief Justice of *England*. Of these the Duke of *Ireland* seem'd the best, as hardly he could be otherwise, being set against too such Foils. *Michael de la Pool* (says my Author) was a Model of complicated Vices, in Peace the most odiously Insolent, in War the most dejectedly Contemptible; he despis'd all Methods of Quietness, and yet was frighted at the least Disturbance. *Tresilian* the chief Justice never show'd himself worthy of his Place or Title by any of his Actions, but was always ready to prostrate all Laws to Occasion, and Justice to Designs. His Knowledge was Lewd-

ness, and his Virtue Violence ; what others design'd he was ready to execute, and being kept up in his darkness, he grew fierce in all things that were cast in to him.

These Favourites join'd with the Archbishop of *York* made it their Endeavours not only to sharpen the King's Mind against the Great Men on Account of their high Employments and Places, but even against their Lives. The first Attempt of this Nature that they made was against the Duke of *Lancaster*, whose Virtues alone had render'd him Obnoxious to their Malice, and made them resolve on his Ruin, which by the Contrivance of *Tresilian* was to be affected under the Form of Law, perverting that which is our Preservation to our Destruction.

There are always wicked Men enow in all Conditions ready to swim with the Stream in all extravagant Measures in Government, that they may receive to themselves the Benefit of the irregular Tyde of Fortune. *Tresilian* was one of those thus prepar'd, and was sufficiently assur'd of Informers and Juries fit to accomplish his Designs. They therefore prepare Crimes to lay the Charge of to the Duke, which he never committed or thought of ; they had also provided, by a new way of Tryal, a Jury of Lords to their own Mind ; it was determin'd, that he should be arrested, try'd and condemn'd, and then they sup-  
pos'd



pos'd nothing possible to hinder his Execution.

Yet all these black Machinations were not carried with such Secrecy, but that the Duke had private Notice of them, and therefore in time thought fit to retire, or rather fly to *Pomfret* Castle, where being arrived and having made his Case known to his Friends, he prepar'd for a just and vigorous Defence. Common Grievances were too frequent, and his Merit too Conspicuous not soon to furnish him with such considerable Assistance, that the Queen Mother engag'd in the Affair, and used her Endeavours to bring Matters to an Accommodation, which she by a generous Industry brought to a happy conclusion. Thus were all things restor'd in Appearance to Calmness and Tranquility; but the Minds of Men once shaken by indirect Measures and Counsels, are so full of Distrust, that they are very rarely so perfectly clear, but the latent Seeds of Jealousy are ready to spring on the warmth of any new Disturbances or Difference.

The King was now come of Age to assume the whole Administration of Affairs with his own Hands; so that for the future he is accountable for all the Mismanagements in Government. But the Evils of his Nonage had fix'd such Maxims and Notions in his Mind, that his  
riper

riper Years had little Prospect of a more rational Conduct. Principles, that are imbib'd in our younger Days, are with the greatest difficulty and the Wisest Counsels eradicated in our after Life; nay, it requires a great Portion of good Sense and clear Judgment, to cure the prejudices of Education: And there are always such plausible Flatterers about a young or weak Prince, that it is almost impossible he shou'd ever escape from the Errors of his Ways, to the pursuit of the Lessons of Wisdom and Justice.

This Prince was so attach'd to the Perswasions of his Flatterers, that, by their Influence, he had wholly thrown off all Regard to his great Relations and the Principal of the Nobility, being fond to the utmost Blindness of his Chancellor, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Ireland*, and to their Creatures the Archbishop of *York*, and *Tresilian*, the Lord Chief Justice; who discover'd what ill Use they wou'd make of this Power by insinuating Suspicions into the King against his Uncle, the brave Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*.

Thus was the King entirely monopoliz'd by the great *Favourites*, but most by his Chancellor the Earl of *Suffolk*, whose mean Birth (says my Author) was suitable to his Qualities, his Vices being so many, that he was a Grievance himself.

It



It was indeed a fatal unhappiness, that the Conscience of the King should be subject to the Command or Direction of so abandon'd a Keeper: But King *Richard* was subject to as great a Violence in his Favours as some Men discover in their Hate and Displeasure; nor, through a thoughtless Confidence of Power, had any Regard to what Opinion Men had of his Actions, till they had brought him to a Necessity of reflecting on their ill Consequences.

These *Favourites*, who were possess'd with an equal Fear and Hatred of Men of Quality and Honour, whose Interest might be sufficient to obstruct their Designs; with satisfaction laid hold of an opportunity of removing the greatest, as they imagin'd, I mean the Duke of *Lancaster*: For this Reason alone they agreed to assist him in his Claim, in Right of his Wife *Constance*, Daughter and Coheir of *Don Pedro*, the cruel King of *Castille* and *Leon*, restor'd to his Crown by the *Black Prince*.

By this means the Duke of *Lancaster* sail'd to the *Goin*, having deliver'd *Brest* from the *French* in his way, and had an Interview with the King of *Portugal* at *Compostella*, who marry'd his Daughter. After he had taken some Towns, and made some Incursions into *Castille*, a Peace was concluded, by the Intermarriage of the House of *Spain's* Son, and *Catherine* of  
*Lancaster*

*Lancaster*, his Daughter. By this Peace and Marriage, he Surrender'd his Title to that Crown, in Consideration of a very great Sum of Money, and a considerable Pension for his Life.

I confess I think the Favourites of this Prince were as weak as wicked, for the Removal of one Enemy was very insignificant, when their Actions and Injustices every Day created them more; whereas the only Means they had to secure themselves had been to have taken Measures more agreeable to the Interests of both their King and their Country; for other Lords grew every Day popular by the Odiousness of their Conduct and Errors. They design'd indeed, if they cou'd, to ruin all that stood in their way, among whom the first Sacrifice design'd was the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The King being Childless, declar'd *Roger Mortimer* Heir to the Crown, and he was by Parliament and People recogniz'd as such. He was the Son of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, was the third Son of *Edward III*. But going into *Ireland* to his Estate in that Country, to keep the *Wild Irish* in Order, was by them in the Night murder'd, with most of his People.

King *Richard* in several Parliaments, (for it was it seems in those Days the Custom to do these things in Parliament) created his Uncle *Thomas de Langley*, Duke of  
of



of York; *Thomas of Woodstock*, Duke of *Gloucester*; *Henry of Bollingbroke*, Earl of *Derby*; *Edmund Plantagenet* (Son and Heir of his Uncle *Edmund of Langley*) Earl of *Rutland*; *Sir John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, and *Tho. Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; as also *De la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Robert de Vere*, Marquis of *Dublin* and Duke of *Ireland*, to the great Disgust both of the Nobility and the Commons.

A Charge was in this Parliament exhibited against the Chancellor *De la Poole*, consisting of many Particulars of a very high Nature. One of which was, his abusing and cheating the King: But the King heard, but never examined the Accusation, which so much provok'd the Parliament, that on his demanding a Supply, they plainly told him it was to no purpose to grant any Money when the Evil Use of what was granted was countenanc'd by himself.

The Parliament therefore still press'd the Examination of this Charge, which the Necessity of the King's Affairs wou'd not permit him to deny. For the sake of a Subsidy (which was afterwards granted) some selected Noblemen were made the Judges, and Examiners of it.

The Cause then was heard by his Peers, the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Earl of *Arundel*, being two of his Judges, he was found guilty, depriv'd of his Offices, his Chattels confiscated, and he fin'd and imprison'd.

No sooner was this Parliament over, but the weak King restor'd him to all his former Favour, as if his Sufferings had been only for his sake, increasing his Affection and Trust, as if Crimes prov'd and punish'd by the great Council of the Nation, were a Recommendation to the Prince's Favour. But a Conduct so unjust and injurious to the Nation, only encreas'd the Disquiet of the People, by shewing that the Publick Good was no equal Ballance with his Fondness of his *Favourites*. And to give the greater Confirmation of this suspicion, the Duke of *Ireland*, who fled to avoid the Storm, return'd at the same time to the King, with the same Credit and Principles with the Earl of *Suffolk*. With these now join'd the Archbishop of *York*, to confirm their Power and weaken their Masters:

The *French* King, who had Wars with this Nation from the Death of *Edward III.* to this Time, allowing some Intervals of short Truces, makes now a Proposal of a perpetual Peace, either to amuse King *Richard* to a Neglect of all Warlike Preparations, or perswaded that he cou'd do himself more Service by his Prevalence in the Counsels of the *English* Court, than by open Hostilities. But the Pope's Nuntio at that time perswaded the King to a Caution in this Affair, laying before him some Designs clandestinely carrying on between the *Anti-Pope* and  
*French*



*French King*, which were to make the Duke of *Touraine*, that King's Brother, King of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, and establish the Duke of *Anjou* in the Kingdom of *Sicily*. He assur'd the King further, that if by the *Anti-pope's* means he could be chosen Emperor, as he designed to endeavour, *he would usurp upon every Man's Right*, so that it seem'd of the nearest importance to the King of *England* to provide in time against Practices, which must prove so very fatal to him; that as for the Treaty of Peace; which the *French* seem'd to have so much at Heart, the whole Aim of it was only to enable him to obtain those Ends before mention'd.

The next Year the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others, went Plenipotentiaries to *Amiens* to farther this Treaty, and were honourably received, and splendidly treated by the *French King*, who was come to that very purpose; but nothing came of it but prolonging the Truce for another Year, *That in the mean time* (says my Author) the Lords and Estates of the Realm of *England* might assemble, and with good Advice deliberate, whether it would be convenient to agree to a determinate Peace, or continue to depend on the Chances of War, It is, I confess, somewhat surprizing to find *Richard II.* condescending to consult his People about making Peace with *France*, who was so fond of Prerogative, as to swallow up all

the Laws into his own despotic Power, especially when his Inclinations to *France* were evident enough afterwards,

The Duke of *Guelderland* about this time came into *England*, and perswaded the King withall the Arguments he could think of not to treat with either *Scotland* or *France*, except on such Conditions as were visibly advantageous and honourable to himself and his Kingdom. However the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Lancaster* were sent to meet the Dukes of *Berrie* and *Burgundy*, to conclude a full and perfect Peace both by Sea and Land. But the *English* Lords found the *French* too subtile to treat fairly without using (as *Hollingshed* words it) *so many dark and coloured Words, that the English Men had much ado to understand them*; our Plenipotentiaries therefore insisted, that all obscure and doubtful Words should be explained, so that this Congress ended in a Truce only of four Years, which about three Years after was turn'd into a Peace for thirty Years, by the two Kings themselves at an Interview, at which *Richard* espoused the *French* King's Daughter *Isabel*, and they mutually swore to each other the observing the Articles of it.

While these foreign Negotiations were managing, the Return of the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* from their Banishment to the King's Favour and their former Power, soon made the King destroy



stroy all those Regulations made by the *Barons* and *Parliament*. For these Ministers of State full of Revenge, by the Flattery of a Prince too fond of the Sweet Poison, soonwork'd him so into their Cause, that he took to be his own, and that what the Parliament had done was not against the Vices and Crimes of the *Favourites*, but against his Power and Right, who had plac'd his Affection upon them. Thus making him believe, that they only were loyal Subjects and the rest of the Kingdom his not *their* guilty Enemies.

The Reflection on the Tryal of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and his Condemnation gave them Resolution to secure themselves for the future, by removing those, who might be able to call them to Account. They first therefore directed their Revenge to the Judges of this *Favourite*, the Duke of *Gloucester* and others, as being Men of the most Power and Consideration, without Apprehension of his near Relation to the King, since the ties of Blood have seldom much force with Princes, especially when in Competition with their Follies or Inclinations; and whatever Regard the King might have to it, they knew him too much in their Power to listen to the pleading of Nature or Judgment against them.

The King indeed was as forward as they to contrive his and the other Lord's Destruction, and to that end invited the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the other leading  
Lords

Lords to Supper in *London*, where by the Assistance of Sir *Nicholas Brember*, Lord Mayor the foregoing Year, they intended to murder them all unarmed. But it is said that *Exton* the present Lord Mayor, who had refused the King himself to be concern'd in so Execrable a Fact, sent them Word of the Design, and so prevented the Mischief.

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, who were engag'd with the Duke of *Gloucester* in the Tryal and Condemnation of the Chancellor *de la Pool*, perform'd many brave Actions at Sea with the Fleet under their Command, so that their Praises were the subject of every Discourse, except the King's, tho he of all others had most reason to rejoyce: For their Reception (says my Author) was so cold at their return, that it seem'd as if they were rather forgiven for Misdemeanors, than received for Merits; and the Strangeness of his Words too plainly declar'd that publick Merit lost its Nature, when the Desert was in the Enemies of his *Favourite*.

How much more limited (*cries out an honourable Author on this Occasion*) is a King by such as confine him to their narrow Interest than when he is bounded by the Law? He must neither reward Virtue, nor punish Vice; his best and truest Subjects must not be esteemed, nor his worst question'd or punish'd, by the Law he is limited



limited only from doing any Wrong, by the *Favourite* from doing any Right.

But the ties of Nature are not the only that a Prince throws off, when he admits any *Favourite*, but the Sense of all Honour and Reverence due to himself, as is plain from the following Action of the Duke of *Ireland*, who had been marry'd to the King's own Cousin, and Granddaughter to King *Edward* of Glorious Memory, a Lady of Vertue and all valuable Accomplishments; but now by as much Arbitrary Power as he perswaded the King to assume, he put her away, and married a *Vintner's* or *Joyner's* Daughter, (for History is various in that Particular) The injur'd Lady in vain petitions the King, her near Relation, to do her Justice, but she pray'd to the Deaf *Richard*, who cou'd see no Folly, no Insult to himself, no Crime against the Laws, if done by a *Favourite*, as if their Actions were the Rule of Right and Wrong, and tho the Duke of *Ireland* thus manifestly trampled on the Honour of his Benefactor, yet the King was insensible of the injurious Affront.

The Duke of *Gloucester* could not so tamely bare a Conduct so insolent, but plainly told the Duke of *Ireland*, he would surely revenge the Injury done by him to his Cousin. This Threat made him the more Industrious to contrive the Death of the Duke. But his pretended  
Jour.

Journey to *Ireland* kept all Quiet, his hop'd Absence from the King promising a fairer Opportunity of his Punishment, than attacking him before him. After many delays, the Duke of *Ireland* sets out in appearance for that Country, accompanied by the King, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Chief Justice *Tresilian*, who always was ready to declare that to be Law, which the King or his *Favourites* had a Mind should be thought so. But this Journey, in reality, was to be out of the way, with the more Convenience to consult the Destruction of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby* and *Nottingham*, with others of the *Country Party* of those Times. They made, therefore, a Progress through *Wales*, and so round to *Nottingham*, where they held their private and black Consultations.

The first was to destroy the Lords, to which purpose they summon'd the Sheriffs of every County, and without any Disguise enquir'd of them what Soldiers they could furnish against the Lords, if the King should have occasion? Most of their Answers were, that it seem'd to be the general Opinion of the People, that the Lords were true Lovers of their King and Country, and therefore that they durst not promise any thing for the King to depend on in that Matter.

This Tryal failing, another Proposal was made, of a packing a *Parliament*, by  
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carrying Elections according to his Majesty's appointment; but the Ministers of that time were not so well acquainted with the Art of packing *Parliaments*, as to carry that Point, there were no public Factions, nor any Priests to byass the Electors against Reason, or their own Security. *Passive Obedience* was not then of such force, tho a Bishop soon after preach'd up the Absolute Power of the Prince.

It is the Reflection of a Man of Sense, on occasion of this Attempt of King *Richard*, that these Favourites had reduc'd their King to a strange sort of Hazzard to attempt unsuccessfully to destroy by Force, or by a Legal Way, to make the Nation destroy itself? The last of these two (continues he,) was without doubt the most dangerous Design: Force may enslave for a little time, but *Slavery* by *Law* is likely to be more durable. But the People were not then enough deceiv'd. And indeed it must be the Concurrence of strange Accidents, the fairness of undiscover'd Dissimulation and the opportunity embrac'd in the same Moment, that must so infatuate the People as to make their Ruin their Choice.

But these two Proposals failing, they made use of surer Means in the last Attempt, that is, of the Judges. who were Men of much the same Kidney as the Chief Justice *Tresilian*. They were all summon'd cherefore to meet at *Nottingham*, and

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oblig'd to set their Hands to the following Queries, in order to put to death the Duke of *Gloucester* and the other Lords, who by the last Parliament was to have the Government of the Kingdom. However several of the Judges refused to subscribe the Articles, tho all at last were constrain'd to do it, among the rest, *John Belknap* resisted the longest, utterly refusing it, but the Duke of *Ireland* and the Earl of *Suffolk* compell'd him by threats to a compliance, for he had no other way to escape with his Life, and yet when he had set his Hand and Seal, he burst out into these Words, as they are in *Hollingshed*, *Now* (said he) *there lacketh nothing but a Rope, that I might receive a Reward worthy of my Desert, and I know if I had not done thus, I might not have escaped your Hands, so that for your Pleasure and the Kings, I have done it, and deserved thereby Death at the Hands of the Lords, which indeed shortly followed, for in the next Parliament he was condemned and executed for it.* The Articles or Queries are as follow.

Memorandum, That on the 25th of *August* in the eleventh Year of the Reign of *Richard II*, at the Castle of *Nottingham* aforesaid, *Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, *Robert Belknap*, Lord Justice of the *Common Pleas* *John Holt* *Roger Fulthorp* and *William Burrough*, Knights and Associates of the said *Robert Belknap*, and *John Lockton* one of the King's Serjeants  
at



at the Law being personally required in Presence of the Lords and other Witnesses underwritten by our said Sovereign Lord the King in their Faith and Allegiance, in which to him they were bounden, that they should truly answer to certain Questions underwritten, and upon the same by their Discretion to the Law.

1. First, it was ask'd of them, whether the new Statute, Ordinance, and Commission made in the last Parliament held at *Westminster*, be hurtful to the King's Prerogative, whereupon all of one Mind answer'd, That they were hurtful, and especially because they be against the King's Will.

2. *Item*, It was enquir'd of them, how they ought to be punish'd, that procur'd the said Statute, Ordinance and Commission to be made? Whereunto with one Consent they answer'd, That they deserv'd Death, except the King of his Grace wou'd pardon them.

3. *Item*. It was enquir'd of them, how they ought to be punish'd, which mov'd the King to consent to the making of the said Statue, Ordinance and Commission? Whereupon they answer'd, That unless the King wou'd give them his Pardon, they ought to lose their Lives.

4. *Item*, It was enquir'd of them, what Punishment they deserv'd, that compell'd the King to the making that Statute, Ordinance, and Commission. Whereunto they

gave answer, That they ought to suffer as Traitors.

5. *Item*. It was demanded of them, how they ought to be punish'd that interrupted the King so, that he might not exercise those things that appertain to his Regality and Prerogative? Whereunto Answer was made, That they ought to be punish'd as Traitors.

6. *Item*. It was enquir'd of them, whether that after the Affairs of the Realm, and the Cause of the calling together of the States of the Parliament, were once by the King's Commandment declar'd, and open'd, and other Articles on the King's behalf limited, upon which the Lords and Commons ought to intreat and proceed; the Lords nevertheless wou'd proceed upon other Articles, and not meddle with those Articles which the King had limited, till first the King had answer'd the Articles propos'd by them, notwithstanding the King had enjoined them to the contrary; whether in this Case the King might rule the Parliament, and cause them to proceed upon the Articles by him limited, before they proceeded any farther? To which Question it was answer'd, That the King should have in this Part the Rule for Order of all such Articles to be prosecuted unto the end of the Parliament; and if any presume to go contrary to this Rule, he was to be punish'd as a Traitor.

7. *Item*



7. *Item.* It was ask'd, whether the King, whenever he pleas'd, might not dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart from thence or not? Whereunto it was answer'd that he might.

8. *Item.* It was enquir'd, That for so much as it was in the King to remove such Justices and Officers as offend, and to punish them for their Offences, whether the Lords and Commons might without the King's Will impeach the same Officers and Justices upon their Offences in Parliament or not? To this answer was made, That they might not, and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

9. *Item.* It was enquir'd, how he is to be punish'd that mov'd in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein *Edward*, the Son of King *Edward*, Great Grand-father to the King, that now is, was indicted in Parliament might be sent for, by Inspection of which Statute, the said new Statute, Ordinance, and Commission were conceiv'd and devis'd in the Parliament? To which Question with one Accord, as in all the Residue they answer'd, That as well he, that so summon'd, as the other, which by Force of the same Motion brought the said Statute into the Parliament House, be as public Offenders and Traitors to be punish'd.

10. *Item.* It was enquir'd of them, whether the Judgment given in the Parliament against *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, were erroneous and revoakable or not? To which Question likewise with one Assent they

they said, That if the said Judgment were now to be given, the Justices and Serjeant aforesaid wou'd not give the same, because it seem'd to them, that the same Judgment is erroneous and revocable in every Part.

In Witness of the Premises, the Justices and Serjeants aforesaid to these Presents have set their Seals, these being Witnesses.

*Alexander Arch-bishop of York; Robert Arch-bishop of Dublin; John Bishop of Dunelm; Thomas Bishop of Chester; John Bishop of Bangor; Robert Duke of Ireland; Michael Earl of Suffolk; John Rippon, Clerk, and John Blake.*

By the bold Sentence of these scandalous Judges, the *Parliament* are made the Traitors, and the *Statute Law* the TREASON. If we may judge by their Plea at their Trial they wou'd perswade us, that they believed that their Obedience to unjust Directions was a sufficient Excuse for their guilty Actions, urging, that they gave those desperate Judgments in compliance with the Threats of the Duke of Ireland, the Archbishop of York, and the Earl of Suffolk. 'Tis probable, that tho' they pleaded the Fear and Terror they were under, yet that Bribes of Power and Wealth were none of the least Motives to their Corruption.

The King look'd on this Decision of the Judges as Authentic and good Law, because agreeable to his Desire of being above any Law; for if such Laws as seem to limit a King, shou'd be void in themselves, there cou'd no Law be valid but such as pleas'd  
the



the Sovereign, the Laws must alter with every change of his Will, and the People never know what Rule to observe. This Decision gave the King the barborous Satisfaction of seeing the Estates and Fortunes of those that discover'd themselves most against his Ministry, legally (in show) thrown into his Hands; and in consequence of this Opinion, he began to dispose of them among his Favourites, taking it for granted, without any further tryal, that they were by this convicted, and therefore raised Soldiers privately, and set them to surprize the Earl of *Arundel*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* being inform'd of all these mad Proceedings, prevail'd with the Bishop of *London* to endeavour to persuade the King from such violent Measures, and to assure him that the said Duke never entertain'd an undutiful Thought of him; and to insinuate to his Majesty, how much greater Safety and Honour the King would obtain, by not suffering himself to be misled into destructive Errors, by the false Reasons of Persons of different Interest to the Public in preceding to such a fatal Severity against the greatest of his Subjects.

This Request of the Duke was delivered with such Address to the King, that he appear'd to be softned into a more moderate Temper. But alas! his Reason was too weak to rise up to a Resolution, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, who hated, as one observes, all Peace and Justice, by which he knew he was to have but little Benefit, nor could be probably

bably safe than whilst he kept his King in danger, soon stifled those rising Sentiments of Gentleness; falling on the Bishop with rude and insolent Reproaches. But the Bishop was by no means aw'd by the Greatness of his Power with the King, and with a becoming Boldness plainly told him, *That he had no manner of View of the King's Service; but was directed in all that he did by his own violent Ambition and Revenge, to satisfy which rather than the Lords should not be destroy'd, he would involve the whole Nation in Ruin; concluding, That it was no difficult Matter for him to stir up Commotions, which must in their Determination be the Destruction of the Bravest, and that he as a Party by his former Condemnation, and the Principal Incendiary was by no means proper Person to give his Advice in the Case.* This honest Boldness of the Bishop was so far from opening the King's Eyes, that so rough a Treatment of his Favourite before his own Face; made him in a Rage command the Bishop out of his Presence. This unhappy Prince indeed always acted against his own Interest and Reason, perswaded by *de la Pool*, who had Views directly the contrary, and who as much wanted Sense and Humanity; which bred new Distrusts the pregnant Nutriment of Civil Mischief.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, considering what Measures were taken, easily perceiv'd where they would end, in the Destruction of the Nation, with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham* and *Derby* takes Arms, the Earl of *Arundel* having narrowly escap'd those  
whom



whom the King had sent out to take him. The King and his Favourites debate about what Face the King should put on to treat with the Lords; the Archbishop of *York* was for trying a Battel, by the *Londoner's* Assistance, with the Lords, others, who prevail'd, were for soothing them with fair Promises, that what they demanded should be granted. But finding that the Lord Mayor of *London* in his Enquiry among the Citizens by the King's Command, reported that there would not a Hand be lifted up against the Lords there, whom they call they call'd the King's Friends, and the Nation's Defenders, but would always be ready to fight against the King's Enemies to the utmost of their Power, and I am apt to believe this Answer of the *Londoners* influenc'd the *Junto* against the Advice of the Archbishop of *York*. The Duke of *Ireland* and Earl of *Suffolk* perswaded the King to make the *French* King entirely his Friend in this Extremity, and the surer to engage him, they advised that *Calais*, and all that the *English* possessed on the other side the Sea, should be surrender'd up to him. Villanies of this Magnitude are not the Product of every Age to urge a weak Prince to surrender the very Walls and Security of his Country to his old and certain Enemy at once, and which were gain'd at the Expence of so much Blood of the brave *English* and their Allies, and rather that a King of that Nation, that conquer'd *France* by Prescription, should become a Vassal to that Monarch, than be

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Great

Great and Glorious at Home by Ruling by Law, and by having the Good of his Subjects in his Eye, lessen their Power to do Mischief or gather Exorbitant Riches, to squander away in as lewd a Way as they had gain'd them.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* (then Lord Chancellor) being deputed to the Lords, the Finess of whose Address in this Affair drew the Lords to agree before the King at *Westminster*, under a Promise of Protection from the King, guarantee'd by the Bishop's Assurance, that he would give them Notice of any Mischief design'd them; which he faithfully perform'd a little before the Lords were to appear at *Westminster*, letting them know there was an Ambush laid for them in the *Mews* to seize them as they came in. The King surpriz'd that they came not according to their Agreement, demanded the Reason of the Bishop of *Ely*, who boldly told him, the Lords could not trust him, having discover'd the Plot against their Liberty, and Lives; the King seem'd wholly ignorant of the Matter, and order'd the Sheriff to search the *Mews*, and take Prisoners or kill all he found conceal'd there. The Design was true, and the Ambush laid, but not in that Place, but at *Westminster* by Sir *Nicholas Bambre* and Sir *Thomas Trivet*, who finding themselves discovered, secretly dispersed their Men.

Upon new Faith and Security given the Lords at last came to the King at *Westminster*,  
but



but with a Guard of Soldiers so strong, that it look'd not like the Equipage of those, who came to submit and petition. They therefore demanded as Traytors *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Marquis of *Dublin*, and Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Archbishop of *York*, *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, and others. The King being alone without his Favourites about him, and now in distress, answered in an affable manner, and told them, That if all their Allegations were true, that the Face of Rebellion to gain their end was no proper Method for them to pursue, and then he raised them from their Knees and retired with them into another Apartment. The Favourites kept out of the way of such provoked and powerful Enemies.

It is plain from what follows, that what the King said, and that calm Temper he put on was not the effect of better Thoughts, but of the present Necessity of his Affairs, for he pressed the Duke of *Ireland* to hasten with his Forces to *London*, but he was met and overthrown by the Earl of *Derby* near *Burford*, flying himself before the Fight begun, which shew'd that his Boldness in enterprizing in the Council, wanted Courage to defend his Advice in the Field; his Letters were taken, and among them, were found some from the King to hasten his March to *London* with what Forces he could get together, where he would be ready to share his Fortunes with them. This Defeat

of the Duke of *Ireland* soon came to the Ears of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and immediately causing himself to be shav'd, he went off to *Calais* in the disguise of a Poulterer, and never more return'd into *England*. And yet the ill Event of his Illegal Counsels could not deter others afterwards from engaging the unfortunatate King in the same erroneous Conduct.

‘ It is a wonder (*says my Author*) that such  
 ‘ a Man should ever get the Ascendant over  
 ‘ a Prince, a Man that was profuse of what  
 ‘ he could get, and got it as willingly by the  
 ‘ Spoils of others, as by more justifiable ways.  
 ‘ He was unfit for Peace by his turbulent  
 ‘ Nature, and that he wanted Courage to be  
 ‘ troublesome in War; in Peace he was  
 ‘ furious, in War very calm; never quiet  
 ‘ but when afraid, at all other times intem-  
 ‘ perate; when he was not designing Mis-  
 ‘ chief his Courage fail’d him, he never seem’d  
 ‘ Good but when Necessity hindred him from  
 ‘ appearing bad.

The Chief Justice *Tresilian*, with the rest of that Faction fled from this Tempest, the King himself retiring to the Tower. The Lords approaching *London* with a great Army, the King at first seem’d to despise them, but being better convinc’d of the Consequence, he agreed to a Treaty with them in the Tower, which before the Lords enter’d, they made a full search, and came with such Guards as they thought sufficient for their Security. When they came into the King’s Presence, they with a respectful Boldness plainly laid  
 to



to his Charge the Contrivances at *Nottingham* against the Nobility and the very Constitution of the Kingdom; his Letters to the Duke of *Ireland* (contrary to his Word) to raise Forces; the Agreement with the *French* to deliver up *Calais*, and many other Grievances which the Male Administration of his Favourites plentifully supply'd.

The King according to his Temper lost all his Resolution in Adversity, and instead of defending what he had done, own'd all his Errors, which made so Generous an Impression on the Lords, that it produc'd an Agreement of an Interview at *Westminster* the very next Day. No sooner were the Lords gone, but some Sycophants about him alter'd his Mind, insinuating that his Person was in danger, and his Power diminish'd by the Compliance he had promis'd. This Alteration in the King put the Lords into a Flame, which made them by those who were deputed from them to send the following Message.

Domine Rex,

**S**ED & unum aliud de Nuncio nostro super est nobis ex parte Populi vestri vobis intimare, habent enim ex antiquo statuto, & de Facto non longe, retro actis Temporibus experienter quod dolendum est habito, si Rex maligno Consilio quocunq; vel inepta contumacia, aut contemptu, seu proterva Voluntate singulari, aut quovis modo irregulari si al enaverit a Populo suo, nec voluerit per Jura Regni & Statuta, & laudabiles  
Ordin-

Ordinationes cum salubri Consilio Dominorum & Procerum Regni gubernari & regulari; sed Capitose in suis insanis Consiliis propriam Voluntatem suam singularem protervè exercere, ex tunc icitum est eis cum communi Assensu & Consensu Populi Regni ipsum Regem de Regali folio abrogare & Propinquiorem aliquem de stirpe Regià loco ejus in Regni folio sublimare.

*Our Lord the King,*

**B**UT there is moreover one Part of our Message still left to acquaint you withal in the Name of your People; they have by ancient Statutes, and a late doleful Instance, that in Case the King shall alienate himself from his People by any bad Advice whatsoever, or foolish Contumacy or Contempt, or Self will, or any other irregular Way, and will not be govern'd or rul'd by the Laws Statutes and laudable Ordinances of the Realm, which the wholesome Advice of the Lords and Peers of the Realm but in a Headstrong way, will exercise his own Self will from thence forward it is lawful for them, with the common Assent and Consent of the People of the Realm to depose the King from the Regal Throne, and to promote some Kinsman if his of the Royal Family to the Throne of the Kingdom in his stead.

The Fear that the Lords should proceed to chuse a new King, and this Message plainly imported, the King was shock'd too much not to change his Mind once more, and go to the Lords and submit to them tho he had provok'd them but just before.

The



The King immediately call'd a Parliament which met at *Westminster* on the 3d of *February*, and sat till the 13th of *June*. This Parliament was call'd the Parliament that did Wonders.

The first Day of their sitting, the Judges was arrested in their Places, and sent to the *Tower*, and immediately were summon'd *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Marquis of *Dublin*, the Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil*, Archbishop of *York*, *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Robert Tresilian*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and Sir *Nicholas Brember*, Lord Mayor of *London*. For this profligate *Brember* was often impos'd by the King on the City, contrary to their Liberties and Priviledges, as being fit to act in all illegal and arbitrary Measures, sacrificing the Lives and Estates of many Men of great Consideration to the King's Designs and Inclinations, and omitted no Severity that cou'd be put in Practice, against the Freedom and Priviledges of the City. The Reward he propos'd to his wild Ambition for all his Villany, was to have the Name of *London* chang'd to that of *Troy*, and to be made Duke of it by that Title.

But these Criminals not appearing, Articles were exhibited against them by the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, *Derby*, and *Nottingham*, and they were condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, and all their Estates confiscated to the Government.

*Tresilian*

*Tresilian* trusting to a Disguise of a poor Habit and long Beard, to hear how Affairs wou'd go, and when a Turn might be hop'd agreeable to his Desires, was discover'd by a Servant who had liv'd with him, he was on the 17th Day of *February*, taken and brought before the Parliament about Eleven a Clock, and the same Day in the Afternoon was drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and was there executed, some say hang'd, others that his Throat was cut.

Sir *Nicholas Brember* was executed the next Day with the Axe he had caus'd to be made to cut off the Heads of such Citizens as durst oppose the Tyranny he exercis'd under Authority of the King. But there is such an Infatuation in some Men, or their Desires are so strong, that no Example can deter them from pursuing the same Steps, that brought their Predecessors to Destruction. The miserable End of *Brember*, *Tresilian*, and *Belknap*, and the dying of the Duke of *Ireland* in a wretched poor Condition at *Lovain* in *Flanders*, *De la Poole's* Fall from the Top of all his Power, and Flight from the Nation, his Counsels had so long enslav'd, could not teach other *Favourites*, who succeeded them, to beware of these false Steps; for they, if possible, led the King farther astray after his taking the Government on himself, than the former did in his Nonage, and all met with the same ignominious Fate, after a short Course of violent Power.

The



The Lords having made these Examples of Justice, every thing was to have a new Birth: The King, therefore, renew'd his Coronation Oath, and the Lords, in Consideration of that, swore Homage and Fealty to him, as if this were the first Day of his Reign; for indeed by the Conduct he pursu'd in his Minority, by the Influence of a most abandon'd Ministry, seem'd to show that he thought them not his Subjects but Slaves. The Lords had now remov'd all those Villains, that then appear'd to have a dangerous Power about him, and therefore were willing to believe the King, finding the ill Consequence of what was pass'd, wou'd no more suffer himself to be sway'd by private Counsels, against his own Interest and the Publick Good. But alas! when a Court is throughly corrupt, the Seeds of Vice, like some Weeds, will scarce ever be destroy'd; and a weak Prince, who has always been used to to be govern'd by *Favourites*, will never want such as can flatter him to exercise his Power to give Greatness to the meanest, if there be none of the ancient Quality, that will engage in such Measures. This will soon appear from the following Actions of King *Richard*, which will prove, that a Prince of a Childish Capacity, notwithstanding the number of his Years, is of as unhappy a Consequence to a Nation, as the Reign of a very *Child*.

In little more than a Year after these noble Reformations, the King being above One and twenty Years of Age, and all things

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being

being pretty well compos'd, he assum'd the sole Exercise of the Regal Administration, and that in appearance to the satisfaction of all the Great Men, who congratulated his Majesty on his coming to the Exercise of his Power, as they call'd it, tho' it was to put an end to theirs. The first Action of this Exercise was the taking the Great Seal from the Bishop of *Ely*, which he immediately deliver'd to the *William of Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*; but he receiv'd it, my Author says, with some Reluctance. He displac'd many other great Officers. The Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other honourable and worthy Men, says *Holinshed*, he discharg'd and put from the Council, and others plac'd in their Rooms, such as pleased the King to appoint, and at the same time he made Five new Judges.

Every thing now went as the King desir'd, nor is any Opposition found to any of his Actions, which soon made him return to those Counsels, which had so lately brought him in such evident hazard of Destruction; and that Interest and Opinion (says my Author) which the *French* had wrought themselves into, seem'd every Day to encrease. The Duke of *Gloucester* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had formerly temper'd the King with their calm and solid Reasons, when in his Rage against the Lords he swore, he had rather submit to and rely on the Protection of *France*, than thus to creep to those, whom he ought to Command.



‘ ’Tis not unworthy an Observation (says Sir Robert Howard on this Occasion) how frequently the *French* have been prevalent in *England*, and always in such Prince's Times, as have given so much Power to Ministers and Favourites, as made them considerable enough to be corrupted.

*Guido*, Earl of *St. Paul*, was about this Time sent by *Charles* the *French* King, to Visit and Compliment King *Richard* and his Queen. ‘ The Earl (says the last quoted Author) according to the ready Confidence of the *French*, presently became a Counsellor: For the King complaining to him of the opposition made to his Actions by the Duke of *Gloucester*, and particularly that he earnestly endeavour'd to disturb the Peace between *England* and *France*; the Earl immediately told the King plainly, That the Duke was not fit to live: For when a Subject was grown so great, a Prince was no longer safe, and that if he meant to secure himself against Danger, the surest way was to destroy those from whence it may come.

This Prince was of too fearful a Temper in that particular, not to be alarm'd at what the Earl advanced, and doubtless had come to that bloody Resolution he afterward took up, had not those Lords he discover'd his uneasiness to on that account, unanimously agreed in their Opinion of the Duke's Honour and Fidelity; which reduc'd him again to Tranquility.

The City of *London* had refus'd to lend the King a Thousand Pounds, and beaten a

*Lombard* who had done it. The King took the opportunity of a Quarrel between the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s Servants and the Citizens, to seize their Liberties, and Sir *Edmund Darlington* was made Lord Warden over them; nor did he restore them till the City had sufficiently appeas'd his Anger by Presents, which, with this Prince, had no little Interest.

The Duke of *Gloucester* soon after is made Duke of *Ireland*, a Title so lately unlucky to *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, who this Year (says *Holinshed*) departed this Life at *Louvain* in *Brabant*, in great Anguish of Mind and miserable Necessity.

In the 18th Year of his Reign the King went into *Ireland* with an Army, and four *Irish* Kings submit to him, who are Knighted by him, and then he return'd to *England*, the Benefit of the Expedition by no means countervailing the Expences.

In the 20th Year of his Reign finding no opposition to several Irregularities, meant as Essays, how he might proceed to greater, he, contrary to his Oath solemnly taken to the Parliament, recalls those corrupt Judges who escap'd the Fate of *Tresilian* and *Belknap*, and were only banish'd into *Ireland* for Life.

This Year the King, by evil Counsel, gave up *Brest* to the Duke of *Bretaigne*, which was the Rise of great Differences between the King and the good Duke of *Gloucester*, who with an honest Boldness said to the King; Sir, your ought to put your Body in Pain to win a strong Hold or Town by Feats of War, yet you  
take



take upon you to sell or deliver up any Town or strong Hold, gotten with great Adventures by the Manhood and Policy of your Noble Progenitors. This he repeated twice over, which much inrag'd the King, and made him, notwithstanding the excuse of the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* in the Duke of *Gloucester's* behalf, fall in with the Contrivance of the Earls of *Huntington* and *Nottingham*, for the Duke's Destruction; and this evil Advice was put in Execution in the most ignominious manner.

The Duke of *Gloucester* was then at his Seat of *Plastby* in *Essex*, where the King on a sudden arriv'd; and after having din'd with him in a friendly manner, as the Duke waited on him to bring him on his way, he was seiz'd by a Party of arm'd Men, laid secretly for him, and so hurry'd blindfold to the *Thames*, clap'd on board a Vessel ready for that purpose and carry'd to *Calice*, and soon after strangled, either thought too great and popular, or not guilty enough to be brought to a Public Tryal; and as an honourable Author has observ'd, as the wicked Advisers perswaded his taking, by the Breach of Hospitality, the basest way of Treachery; so they continued in those peculiar Methods of Mischief, to contrive his Death by the most hated way of private Murder.

Within a few Days after this, the King invited the Earl of *Warwick* to Dinner, and in the midst of all the Shows of Kindness sent him to Prison; as he did likewise the Earl of *Arundel*

*Arundel* and his Son, but to prevent Discontents and Commotions, he declared that it was not for any former Displeasure, but for new Crimes, which should be charg'd upon them in due time.

The Earl of *Arundel* was sent to the Isle of *Wight*, there to remain Prisoner till the next Parliament, in which he intended to take Care they should be condemned and put to Death. Soon after the King had them indicted at *Nottingham*, suborning such as should appeal them in Parliament.

The King having no Confidence in any of the Lords but the Earl of *Huntington*, his half Brother, the Earl of *Rutland*, the Duke of *York's* Son, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, first set up a Life-Guard of *Cheshire* Men, being about a thousand Archers, who were paid Weekly, and were upon Duty about his Person Day and Night. These *Cheshire men* were of the most loose and scandalous Lives that could be pick'd out, who with 4000 Archers more with Bows ready bent were every Day at the Parliament House to confirm what *Edward Stafford*, Bishop of *Exeter* and Lord Chancellor, had said at the opening of the Parliament, that he design'd that his Will should be above the Laws. For this Bishop, in a mingled Discourse of Speech and Sermon, plainly declar'd, that the Power of the King was Absolute and Perfect, and that those who by any ways endeavour'd to lessen or deny it, were worthy to suffer by that Law that was solely in his Power.

And



And that every thing that might be suitable (says my Author) to carry on this Work, there appear'd new Ministers to manage in the House of Commons, of Reputations as black as their Designs, who were Sir John Bushie, Sir John Bagot and Sir Thomas Green. These Men were equally infamous and assiduous, corrupting some by Fear, and others by Benefits. Sir John Bushie was made Speaker, who as old Hollingshed tells us, was a Man exceeding Cruel and Ambitious, and Covetous beyond measure.

The King having set out the ill usage he had met with from the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick and others. Sir John Bushie stood up, and having in the Name of the Commons of England, desir'd the King's Highness to punish them all as Traytors; he also accus'd the Archbishop of Canterbury of High Treason, forgiving the King ill Advice to grant a Charter of Pardon to his Brother the Earl of Arundel, desiring the King not to suffer the Archbishop to speak in his own Defence, least his Eloquence should lead Men away to believe him. Sir John Bushie (says Hollingshed) in all his Talk, when he propos'd any Matter to the King, did not attribute unto him Titles of Honour due and accustomed, but invented unused Terms, and such strange Names, as were rather agreeable to the Divine Majesty of God, than to any Earthly Potentate. The Prince being desirous enough of all Honour, and more Ambitious than was requisite; seem'd to like well of his Speech, and gave good Ear to his Talk.

Bushie

*Busbie* in the Name of the Commons of *England* having desir'd a Revocation of all Charters of Pardon formerly granted after the *Great Parliament*, they were made void ; and to fullfil the Chancellor's Charge, they voted, that any one that should be convicted of opposing the King's Power and Regality, should suffer as a Traytor.

Further, the Commons were so terrify'd with the Guards and Archers, or corrupted by Bribes, hopes of Places, or the like, that they repeal'd all the Laws of the *Great Parliament*, making those the best Subjects, who had been by that Parliament condemn'd as Traytors, and condemn'd all those who made the greatest Figure in it. Nor was it sufficient that the Earl of *Nottingham*, in whose Hands was the Duke of *Gloucester*, gave an Account of his Death or Murther, their fawning Zeal was so great, that they gave the same Sentence on him as on the Earl of *Arundel*, who was executed after it, as if angry that the Earl of *Nottingham* had depriv'd them of the Satisfaction of murdering him themselves.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, among others, being impeach'd of High Treason by *Busbie*, in the Name of the House of Commons, was banish'd, tho the King had promised to secure him, when he would not permit him to speak in his own defence. And it was at last ordain'd, that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal should take their Oaths that they would strictly observe all things, that had been enacted by this Parliament



ment, and the Prelates were to thunder out their Sentences against any that dissented from them.

The Earl of *Warwick* was then Arraign'd, but with a mean and cowardly Dejection of Spirit, own'd his Guilt, and threw himself on the King's Mercy, only to exchange an honourable Death for lingring Misery in a perpetual Imprisonment, whereas the Earl of *Arundel* bore himself with a noble Clearness of Spirit, and despis'd to try any way to save his Life but by his own Innocence.

Among all the Villanous Condemnations of this execrable Parliament, there was none more shocking, than that of the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, a Gentleman very much in Years, simple and upright in all his Dealings, and he was condemn'd for no other Reason, but for having been appointed in the 11th Year of this Reign, among others, to attend on the King, and be one of his Governors. But this high flown Parliament went yet a more terrible length, after their meeting at *Shrewsbury*, whither they adjourn'd from *Westminster*; for as *Hollinshed* tell us, The King so wrought and brought things about, that he obtain'd the whole Power of both Houses to be granted to certain Persons fourteen in number, or to seven of them. These were appointed to hear and determine certain Petitions and Matters yet depending, and not ended; but by Virtue of this Grant, they proceeded to conclude upon other Things, which generally touch'd the Knowledge of the whole Parliament, to the derogating of the Honour thereof, to the Disadvantage of the King, and perilous Example in time to come.

After the King had obtained what Supply he desired of his Parliament, a general Pardon was past for all Offences, to all the King's Subject, except fifty without a Name, having them in Reserve to himself, that when any of the Nobility offended him, he might name him as one of the Number excepted. This Parliament concluded with depriving many Heirs of their lawful Rights and Inheritance to the disgusting great numbers of People, and so they put an end to the Session.

Never had Arbitrary Power so fair a Prospect of Success as at this time. *Tresilian*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* were but lame in their Contrivance of making corrupt Judges the Deciders of the Lawful Power, and Rights of Parliament, a Method obnoxious to the whole Kingdom; but Sir *John Bushie* and this second Roll of *Favourites* took a more plausible Course, to get the King's Will declar'd the Supream Law by Act of Parliament, that is by the *Legislature*. What had they to fear when it was lawful for the King and his *Favourites*, to do what they pleased, without being accountable for the most barbarous or inhumane Oppressions: 'Tis a Maxim, that you can do no Injury to the Willing, and the Will the People was declared by their Representatives to be, that the King should dispose of their Lives and Fortunes at his own Discretion, and the good Pleasure of his *Favourites*, to accuse whom the Parliament it self would incur the Penalty of High Treason; and this Act was confirm'd by the Pope's Bulls, denouncing

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Damnation (like our modern high Flying Priests) to all such as were not Obedient to the Statutes of this Parliament, for the Ministers had secured their Impunity by all the ways Humane Wit could invent; and such a Confidence was rais'd in the King, that he no longer doubted but that he was Master of the Lives and Estates of all his Subjects, or rather Slaves. *And (says an honourable Author) no question the Experiment that Terror could so far prevail on the Minds of Men, and the cruel success of Force furnish'd these new upstart Ministers with Arguments sufficient to confirm in the King's easy Mind the treacherous Opinion, that he was more safe by Cruelty, than gentle means, and far better secur'd by Fear than Love; nor are other Counsels to be expected from such Men equally low in their Minds and Extractions; made greedy from Power, and Ambitious from Pride. Neither by Minds nor Fortunes indu'd with Principles. Power was their Justice, Violence their Prudence, and Opportunity their Providence.*

But notwithstanding all these cunning Cautions, of how short a Date was this monstrous Usurpation. This treasonable Surrender of the Liberties of the Nation, was in the 21<sup>st</sup> Year of this King; and he was depos'd, and all these traiterous Ministers hang'd in the 23<sup>d</sup>. But it is a thing very rare to find in such Men, advanc'd to great Power, any prudent Views of distant Contingencies; their Eyes are fix'd by the immediate Gratification of their Desires on the fair Prospect of the present Posture of their Affairs, without knowing or considering on the necessary Consequences of their

irregular Measures; they are so pleased at the success of a dextrous Turn, tho' effected in the most absurd and preposterous manner, that they have no Sense of that Ruin which is sure and often speedy. Weak Princes, as our *Richard*, are generally more Fond of the favouring Exaltation of their *Prerogative*, as a Right above Law, than those great Kings who have govern'd with Glory and the Love of their People, like *Edward III.* and his Grand-father, by the known and stated Laws of their Country. The Ministers who are for raising it beyond all Bounds, shou'd methinks reflect, that tho' by that means they may compass their present Designs, yet it puts in the Hands of a fickle Prince (and all weak Princes are fickle) the dangerous Weapon that may destroy them in a Moment, as soon as he is won by another from his Interest. But as the last quoted Author observes, *because they see nothing at the present springing up, they forget that the Roots grow undiscern'd; and no question the King in that Juncture of Time thought every Cloud dispell'd, and pursued all those fatal Ways, that mistaken Flattery could guide him.*

The King, now the Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Arundel were removed, grew careless of his Conduct, secur'd by Act of Parliament from Censure, threatening Death to all those who paid not Obedience to the extremity of his Desires. By which means (says *Hollinshead*) the Lords of the Realm began to fear their own Estates, being in danger of his furious Outrage, whom they took for a Man destitute of Sobriety and Wisdom, and therefore could not like him, that so abused his Authority.

The



The Quarrel that fell out between the Duke of *Hereford*, Son of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, extremely beloved for his excellent Virtues by the People, and the Duke of *Norfolk* a present Minister of State under King *Richard*, made way for a general Revolution, and a Recovery of the Laws and Liberties of our Country. The Duke of *Hereford* discoursing with the Duke of *Norfolk* complain'd of the King's being misled by base and mean Counsellors, who had no Eye to the Public Good, but sacrificed every honest Consideration to their own private Gain, that he feared the King would so lose the Hearts of the People by adhering to such pernicious Advice, that it might prove of dangerous Consequence. He assured the Duke of *Norfolk* at the same time, that he was not prompted by any particular or private Disgust to say what he did, but purely by his Love for the King his near Kinsman, and his Country; and therefore earnestly entreated the Duke of *Norfolk* to lay these things faithfully before the King, he being of his secret Council, to prevent the evil Effects of the King's continuing in this Mistake. The Duke of *Norfolk* seeming to approve of what he heard, represented it to the King as an Accusation, not a dutiful Counsel. The King to whom unpleasant Truths were the most disagreeable things in the World, imagining himself at that time above the mean Considerations of public Notions, resented the Boldness (as he called it) of the Duke of *Hereford* before the Council, where the Duke of *Norfolk* confirmed his  
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Accusation before the King, which was denied by the D. of *Hereford* as represented, but own'd as he both spoke and meant it. But the Duke of *Norfolk* maintaining the Accusation, the Combat was demanded, consented to, and the day appointed by the King; but when the Combatants were ready to engage, they were both banished by the King, first taking an Oath not to see one another beyond the Seas; the Duke of *Norfolk* dy'd not long after at *Venice*, and the Duke of *Hereford* was received in great deal of Honour by the *French* King.

*Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being banished as we have heard by the high flown Parliament, *Roger Walden* was made Archbishop in his room, who with *Robert Baibrook*, Bishop of *London*, interposed between the King's Anger and the City; for now *Richard* took frequent occasions of being displeased with the Citizens because they were rich, and pretended Offences might furnish the King with Occasions of easing them of their Money to support his Profuseness, upon their humble Submission, and the laborious Mediation of the Bishop, the King's Wrath was abated; yet throughly to appease him, several *Blank Charters* were brought into the City, and the most wealthy Inhabitants were forced to Sign and Seal them to their great Charge and Damage in the end. Tyrants look on the Wealth of the Subject as a lessening their own Power and Glory, and a Wealthy City governed by a form of Liberty, was an odious Prospect to a Prince of King *Richard's* Temper. The same sort  
of



of Blank Charters or Obligations were sent out into every County of the Nation, which gave life to a general Murmuring of the People, for when these Charters were Sign'd and Sealed by the Persons they were offered to, the King's Officers writ in them whatever they were directed, whether to the charging those People with the Payment of Money, or any other Concession or Obligation.

About this Time *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Father to the Duke of *Hereford*, and Fourth Son to *Edward III.* departed this Life at *Ely House* in *Holbourn*. By his Death the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and all other his Estates, fell to the banish'd Duke, as Eldest Son. But the King, without any shadow of Law or Justice, seiz'd on the whole Estate, Personal and Real, Money and Land, receiv'd all the Revenues, and endeavour'd, contrary to his Oath, to make the Duke of *Hereford's* Exile perpetual, that he might not disturb him in the Enjoyment of his Usurpations, revoking all his Letters Patents, to prevent the suing out the Livery for those Lands during his Banishment.

This Conduct of the King so touch'd the Duke of *York*, that he who bore patiently the Death of his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Banishment of his Nephew the Duke of *Hereford*, and many more Injuries, as the effect of ungovern'd and frail Youth in the King, now plainly seeing that neither Law, Justice, nor Equity cou'd take place, when the King's obstinate Will was bent on doing of Wrong, he beheld the  
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unavoidable Decay of his Country, through the King's want of Wit and Understanding, and of such faithful Counsellors as wou'd tell him his Duty, without the modish Flattery of the Times: And therefore, with the Duke of *Aumale* his Son, he retir'd to his House at *Langlis*, with this Satisfaction, that he never had a Hand in any of the Misfortunes of the Commonwealth.

As if this King thought he had not done Mischief enough to his People, he was now going to let out his whole Kingdom in Farm, to Sir *William Scroope*, Earl of *Wiltshire*; Sir *John Bushie*, Sir *John Baggot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, Knights. All not being sufficient to supply the King's Pleasure and Luxury, he borrow'd Money of all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, who wou'd take his Letters Patent to be repaid at a certain Day, which yet never was done. In his 22d and 23d Year he fin'd Seventeen Counties for assisting the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Lords when they once brought him to Reason; nor were these Fines small or moderate, but excessive on the Gentry and Commonalty, as well as the Noblemen of those Counties; but Suspicion and Fear went along with these Exactions, for he caused a new Oath of Fidelity to be administer'd to all his People, for their future Duty to him.

Another Inhumanity and Oppression was practis'd by this King, in causing many to be accus'd, imprison'd, and then brought before the Constable and Marshal of *England* in the Court of *Chivalry*, and cou'd  
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not get their Liberty by any other Means than by Combat, in the Lists against their Accusers, who for the most part were lusty, young and strong; but the Accused old, weak and sickly; whereupon, says Holinshed, not only the great Destruction of the Realm in General, but also of every single Person in Particular, was to be fear'd and look'd for.

Oh! wonderful Benefit to humane Society of Power unbounded by any thing but the Possessor's own Will! And to what incredible Excesses will Man extend himself, when he thinks himself accountable to none for his Actions? And yet we have some who call themselves *Divines*, who blasphemously wou'd add this devilish Doctrine to the Gospel of Truth, and thunder out eternal Damnation to those, who have not Impiety enough to admit this as an Article of their Creed.

But *adest Vindex Jupiter*, the Vengeance of Heaven is near at Hand to punish this perjur'd King, and leave him a dreadful Example to after Princes, to prefer the Publick Good and Safety of the People committed to their Charge, to the Violence of their blind Inclinations for any private or particular Person.

The *Irish* had made very detrimental Inroads into the *English* Pale, and were grown such troublesome Neighbours, as made 'em considerable enough to give King *Richard* Reason to think them worthy his Conquest; wherefore having prepar'd an Army, he parted from *Milford* with 100 Sail, and was afterwards follow'd by the Duke of *Aumarle*  
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with 100 Sail more, whilst the Duke of York was left Lieutenant General of *England*.

This Time of the King's Absence gave an Opportunity to *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaster* and *Hereford*, to come into *England*, at the earnest Entreaties of the Nobility of this Nation, to do himself Justice, and rescue them from Slavery, and to join the Earl of *Northumberland* and others, who had taken up Arms to throw off the hateful Yoke of unmerciful and unsatisfy'd Favourites. All the Duke's former Friends deserted to him, and all those, whom Oppression had made so now. Thus the foolish Means the King took against the Fears of the Duke of *Hereford*'s Return by a perpetual Banishment, are the cause of his coming with so much Success, that at King *Richard*'s landing from *Ireland*, his Courage sunk, and Despair became his Director till the surrender of his Crown.

Among the Lords who apply'd themselves to the Duke of *Hereford*, the principal was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had suffer'd Banishment for the Public Cause, and laid open the Grievances and Desires of the Nobility and People to the Duke, summing up all the Mischiefs and Misfortunes of an unsteady Government, the Contempt it spread Abroad, and Oppression at Home, being not Slaves to their Prince, but to his Favourites; and that Peace, under their Extortions, was more chargeable, than War; the Expence of their Riots and Ambition needed more Projects and Taxes to maintain them, than the Defence and Support of the Government requir'd: By their Cruelties



elties most of the Nobility had been destroy'd, and the Commonalty wasted; concluding, with imploring the Duke to pity the Oppression of his Country, and to animate those, that were ready to redeem themselves from Slavery by his Valour and Conduct.

The Duke of *Lancaster* (continues my Author) stood not in need of the Force of Eloquence to persuade him to so glorious an Undertaking, on which the Safety and Happiness of so many Millions depended. The Murder of his Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Imprisonment of his Children, the Loss of his Estate, and the Misery of his Country, were Motives strong enough to engage him to lay hold of this Opportunity of revenging the former, and preserving the latter. These Considerations, and the Peoples general Affection to a Change, (being quite tir'd out with Oppression) made him venture to land in *Yorkshire* with a handful of Men, and thence join'd (as I have said) the Earl of *Northumberland*. He gave out indeed at first, that the Cause of his coming was only for the recovering his Paternal Inheritance, and the Redress of the general Grievances of the Nation, and he quickly found the utmost of his Expectations answer'd. Many of the Nobility flock'd in to him, and his small Band was soon increas'd to an Army, and the Multitudes that on all sides appear'd in his Cause, discover'd the weak Foundations of Tyranny, tho' laid with all those strengthening Circumstances I have mention'd, and the short Duration of an illegal and violent Power.

All Things thus exceeding his very hopes, he made use of the Smiles of his good Fortune, and march'd with all imaginable Diligence to *London*, where he was receiv'd with all the Joy of a People, that look'd on him as their Deliverer from impendant Ruin. He was entertain'd with Pageants and Presents, and all the Encomiums that cou'd be invented, which were attended with the contumelious Reproaches on their late King, which he had abundantly merited. The late invented new Oath of Allegiance forc'd on them by *K. Richard*, promoted their Zeal against him, and War was declar'd against him and all his Adherents.

The Duke of *York* in the mean while endeavour'd in vain to raise Forces for the King, but found the People generally resolv'd not to be Enemies to their Deliverer.

Now the wretched *Favourites*, who were so active and so bold in Prosperity, discover'd plainly, that their Tricking and Cunning were not capable of struggling with Difficulties; but their Reputation and Interest were as weak as their Wisdom and Courage. *Bushie* and *Green* were pursu'd to *Bristol* (a Place fatal to hafty *Favourites*) and taken, and with the LORD TREASURER *Scroope* lost their Heads, while *Bagges* by flying into *Ireland* delay'd his infamous Death for a Time.

King *Richard* received in *Ireland* the unwelcome News of the Duke's landing, and his swift and wonderful Success; which being highten'd by carrying, appear'd such a Cloud in the full Sunshine of this Prince's Glory,



Glory, as his flattering Favourites perswaded him, that he was amaz'd at so sudden an Eclipse. After some time, the King prepar'd to sail into *England*, having first imprison'd the Sons of the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* in *Trin* Castle, and took with him the Dukes of *Surrey*, *Aumarle* and *Exeter*, with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln* and *Carlisle*. The Earl of *Salisbury* was dispatch'd to raise an Army in *Cornwal*, which, contrary to expectation, he effected, but the King not coming to them at the appointed time, they disbanded, and went every Man to his Home.

The King at last lands in *Wales*, where he found himself deserted by all, and every Fortress and Castle of Force submitting to the Duke of *Lancaster*. In the midst of these Perplexities he knew not what Course to take, but in doubt of every thing, wander'd to *Conway* Castle, where the Earl of *Worcester* Steward of the Household, openly in the Hall broke his Staff of Office before the King's Servants, and advised them to follow his Example, and go away to the Duke. The rest of the Household follow'd him, and those, who so lately owned a Loyalty unknown to the Law, left their Prodigal Master to suffer by himself for the tyrannic Subversion of it. And 'tis improbable (says a noble Author) that those, who with unlimited Flattery for their own Interest and Ambition had perswaded their Prince into the dangerous Attempt on Absolute Power, should in any Turn of Fortune retain any limited Principles. The true Interest of a Prince indeed includes the Interest of the whole Society,

Society, but what *Favourites* generally take to be their Interest, excludes that of their Prince. History would convince any Man of Sense, that the Tyranny has sometimes succeeded for a while, but that it has been fatal in the end, and that the just Limits of a National Constitution are much more Safe as well as Glorious.

In the midst of *Richard's* fluctuating Doubts what Measures to pursue, he at last resolv'd to surrender himself to the Duke. The Earl of *Northumberland* went to the King to assure him of his Obedience, and that the Duke only desired a Parliament should be called to meet at *Westminster*, to settle the terrible Disorders of the Nation. The King either weary of so many turns of Fortune, or sensible that it would not be in his Power still to retain his Royalty, proposed to the Earl of *Northumberland* only a retired and quiet Condition of private Life. When the King met the Duke at *Flint Castle*, the Duke paid him all the Veneration due to a King, assuring him, that the whole Aim of his Actions was the Reformation of the Government, and the Recovery of his own Estate. After this, the King goes to *London* with the Duke, and they enter it together, but not with the same Reception, successful Revenge now triumph'd over the Misfortunes of the one, and hopes of better Times paid Joy and Applause to the other. The King was lodg'd in the Tower; which he had often made his Place of Residence before, as in this History we have seen, so that it bore no such terrible Appearance, as it would now to have a Prince sent thither. The



The Duke of *York* advised the Duke of *Lancaster* in all the Measures he was to take; he first advised, that the King should be brought to a voluntary Resignation of the Crown, and yet to be solemnly depos'd. The King submitting to Necessity seem'd very ready to yield to the Request, and the Form was drawn up the Day before the Parliament met.

There were Lords, Clegymen and Lawyers in the Commission to receive the Resignation, and the two Lord Chief Justices *Thirning* and *Markham* were of that Number. The Commissioners being formally assembled in the Tower, King *Richard* came out in all his Kingly Ornaments, and was thus placed in the Chair of State, he spoke to the Commissioners with an unusual Calmness and Presence of Mind, beginning with the Acknowledgment of the Errors of his misl'd Youth (tho he was now above four and thirty) too liable to receive the ill Impressions of evil Counsellors, and wished that he was able to repair those Injuries he had done to the Nation. He concluded, with his Choice of losing a Kingdom rather than engage it in Blood and Confusion, and only desired to enjoy that Peace which with his Resignation he hoped would grow to all his People.

Having done speaking, he read the Instrument that was prepar'd, and made two Bishops his Attornies, to declare that to be his Resignation to the Parliament; which being done on the following *Monday*, it was accepted of by both Houses of Parliament. But the Lords and Commons, who had felt the heavy Yoke of his Reign, thought not this sufficient to secure their Repose, but least hereafter he might gain an opportunity of declaring this Resignation only the effect of his

his Fear and Circumstances, they drew up a Charge of his several Tyrannies and Male-Administration, which had incurr'd his Forfeiture of his Crown. The Articles were 33 in Number, upon which in open Parliament he was judg'd fit to be deposed from all Kingly Honour and Princely Government.

This Sentence being pronounc'd, the Duke of *Lancaster* put in his Claim to the Crown; but the Parliament had not much Regard to that Claim, as derived from *Henry III.* but proceeded to an Election, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having proposed first the Duke of *York*, then his Eldest Son the Duke of *Aumale*, and then his Youngest, they answer'd No to each: But proposing *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, they all unanimously declar'd their Assent; so the Archbishop coming to the Duke and falling on his Knees, saluted him King, and conducted him to the Throne, and then begun an Oration on this Text, *Vir dominabitur in Populo*, &c. Shewing the many Evils of being govern'd by a Child, or a Prince of Childish Conditions or weak Understanding; but that they had now remov'd that Curse, by setting a Man to rule over them. The Conclusion of the Bishop's Oration was follow'd by the *Amen* of the People, and the Thanks of the new King to the Lords and Commons.

As to the Death of the Unfortunate *Richard* 'tis variously reported; some say he was starv'd to Death, others that he broke his Heart to hear of the Disappointment those who had risen to restore him had met with; and others, that *Sir Pierce Exton* with some Confederates murder'd him in *Pomfret* Castle, in hopes to make his Court to King *Henry*, in which finding himself disappointed, he fled out of *England*, and dy'd miserably Abroad.

I have only to add, that those noisy Declaimers against the late Revolution, may find that justify'd by the Statutes of the Land, as well as by the Common Law, since all these Proceedings against King *Richard* were confirm'd by an Act in the Reign of *Henry VII.* which is not repealed to this Day. I wish that this Nation may never have more Necessity for its own Safety to have Recourse to these Extremities, but that our Princes, never being govern'd by the selfish Counsels of wicked Favourites, always may consult the good of their People, and govern by Law.

F I N I S.





